3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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neighbor, though occasionally two or three houses may be within sight of one another along the river. In no case, however, is there an approach to communal life, each family forming an individual unit with family property-rights. There is, to be sure, a central government, the head of which is an hereditary chief, or *gobernador*, as he is at present called after the Spanish fashion. The purposes of this central government are strictly those of preserving law and order, settling controversies between individuals, and punishing infringements upon recognized social customs. In no case is there any interference by the central government with property or other recognized family rights and privileges.

A family, as the term is here used, consists of husband, wife, children, and dependents. By dependent is meant not necessarily one who is supported by the others, but one not having a house and a family of his own and who may choose to reside with some family, usually a closely related one. These dependents are usually newly-married sons or daughters, or are parents, grandparents, or other relatives of the head of the house or of his wife.

The daily life of the Cáyapa is a busy routine for all members of the household, especially the women. In addition to the cooking, keeping the house in order, and attending to the wants of the smaller children, the mother of the household is kept busy spinning, weaving cloth, and making baskets, mats, fans, and pots, to say nothing of the work she does in the care of the crops and the gathering of the wild foods.

small temporary shelters called by the Spanish term *ranchos*. In general construction these *ranchos* are similar to the permanent houses, but they may be only a foot or two off the ground. As the property holdings of most Cayapa are scattered, many build second permanent houses at other convenient sites and alternate residences as the farming situation dictates. If relatives have a house in the area already, then a new house need not be built, and shelter is taken with the kin. It is possible for a family to have no permanent abode of its own but rather to shift back and forth between relatives who happen to live near their property. This, however, is a very rare occurrence, and in the few cases recorded, I suspect that it is transitory. A "complete" person "*un hombre completo*" to be fully adult should be master of his own house. Pedrito Ahapa, for example, was living with relatives, but he was bewitched and suffered from many illnesses, and in addition his land was "spoiled" by witchcraft. Despite this, he still felt that the best thing for him to do was to get some land elsewhere, and set up an independent household.

Subsistence Activities. Farming is the main occupation

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in-laws grandparents. By reversing Barrett's statement in line with this simple observation it can be said that the primary meaning of /nɨ̃ápa/ is 'father-in-law' and secondarily and tenuously, 'grandfather.'

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Descent is today still bi-lateral, and residence is still bi-local with neo-locality as a very common alternate. Murdock in discussing incest taboos and their extensions placed the Cayapa in class B2-M1-P1.

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> B2. Bilateral Bilateral Extension.--marriage forbidden or disapproved with all first cousins but permitted with at least some second cousins.
> M1. Matrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend marriage prohibitions further in the female line than in any other.
> P1. Patrilineal Non-Extension--absence of any tendency to extend prohibitions further in the male line than in any other (Murdock 1949: 302-303).

Murdock in this classification went beyond the data presented by Barrett: the Cayapa should have been classified in the category of Normal Bilateral Extension. Kindreds are unreported by Barrett, but are established in our data. There are two terms which may be translated as 'family' or 'kindred,' /pándatála/, /pánda/ 'food, plantain,' /-tála/ 'together,' and /bilutála/. Manimino Mandosa Nɨ̃apa's father's brother brought him a woman to marry, but Manimino refused, saying that she is /tála bilutalába/ 'we-family-together-with.' The

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and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them: it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Camarones there is an average of 3.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.-

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Adoption.- Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

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There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

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childless and desire a son or daughter: in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance: however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

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Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the anal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the machine, nursing her child [her seventh] the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy [four years]. She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

by the children.

Boys are now beginning to be sent to school when they reach seven or eight years of age. The school is located up the Río Camarones at Encante which, in 1960, comprised six houses with a shifting population of about forty. Children from up the river stay with relatives during the school year and go home on weekends and school holidays. This is a most unusual situation, since prior to the introduction of the school, Cayapa children had very little interaction with non-household children, and now new interaction patterns are developing. Education is prized and attendance is regular. Girls remain at home and attend to their household chores. Parents prefer not to send girls to school, despite the urging of the teacher, because "they will write love letters" and, more importantly, they are needed to take care of younger siblings while the parents are out working. Girls begin very early to learn to take care of children, to sweep, to carry water, and to cook. They tend to be quite responsible while taking care of younger siblings, but sometimes they are inclined to be rough. If for example, the

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marriage, and she accepted. Lorenzo claimed that he never consulted the girl's mother [her father was dead], so he was ashamed and afraid of her. Because Lorenzo's parents were dead, he moved into his mother-in-law's house. After several years the young couple was married by the Catholic priest in Punta Peñas.

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After the death of his first wife, Lorenzo lived in his mother-in-law's house for about five years. He stated that after his wife died, her mother told him that he was no longer her son-in-law. Thereafter, apparently she either did not prepare his food or did not do so properly. Lorenzo says that he did not argue with her but continued living there for five years, nevertheless!

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One night Lorenzo attended a party given at the home of Antonio Largo. He saw his present wife there for the first time and was immediately attracted to her. While the men and women are somewhat separated at fiestas, the women serve the men guarapo /wápu/, a fermented sugar cane drink, and at these times some conversation may be had. Lorenzo told her that he wanted her to come away with him "immediately."

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